1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Weapons.—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

Pottery.—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

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59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather Ll, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible 595 nucleus of a new extended family. Polygyny is neither frequent 583 nor favored, whereas it is true that material considerations are absent on the occasion of marriage (thus Mo or To rather than Lo; column 9).

611 We shall now take up the most confused aspect of Carajá [121] ethnography. The Handbook of South American Indians speaks 615 correctly of double descent. I have shown elsewhere that be- [119] cause of some inattention in the editing of the famous manual, an incorrect idea of the real nature of this coexistence of patrilineal and matrilineal groupings has arisen. It is a matter, not of moieties, but of three large, named, patrilineal groups, which are primarily the men's affair, in their ceremonial and political life, but nevertheless are concerned with women in the sense of an endogamous tendency. Thus it is not a matter of true parallel descent, and, on the other hand, it is by no [621] means a question of exogamy, and still less of moieties. At the most one may speak of nonexogamy or agamy as in the case of the villages, which are themselves matrilineal groupings on account of the matrilocal rule of the domestic group just men- 613 tioned. In a strict sense only the small extended family, 596 which can be described as a non-named, minimal, matrilineal 582 lineage, seems to be exogamous. Marriage is permitted with any cousin, parallel or cross, and the matrilateral preference reported by Lipkind (incidentally without any indication of whether it is a matter of parallel or cross cousins!) seems to be only the normative expression of matrilocal marriage, whereas the slight patrilateral preference ascertained by myself is equally in agreement with the rule of endogamy of the patrilineal groups. [601] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister" with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we

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582 shall presently see, the difference does not have much explicative value. In the light of what has been said, it is therefore [616] necessary to correct the categories set up by Murdock, taking [615] into account the fact that his category "agamous (nonexogamous) [114] moieties" should be completed by "agamous phratries" (thus: Pa or Na, La, Da; columns 10-12).

601 The kinship system of the Carajá must now be set forth for the first time, albeit briefly. Murdock left the pertinent [114] column completely blank. /45/ With regard to male and female cousins, the terminology is of the "Hawaii" type, that is to say, my own generation contains only brothers and sisters. 128 Before continuing, permit me to remind you that we have been able to speak of principles which govern kinship systems. In order not to fall into the trap of "verbalism" decried by Murdock, I hasten to add that it is not a question of causes, but rather of logical principles likely to operate in view of a given situation, whether these be circumstances pertaining to the environment, demography, or the fundamental type of social communication which is involved in each case. Now we could pair up these principles by forming contrasts in the manner of the linguists, contrasts whose terms exclude each other when it is a question of particular relations, but which can alternatively be combined into a whole system of kinship relations. Perhaps it would be preferable to formulate only opposite contrasts, but for the moment I will be satisfied, except in the first case, with contrasts which are clearly contradictory, and thus easier to handle, for that will suffice to attain our immediate goal of elucidating 601 the kinship system of the Carajá. There is contradiction between the classified unity of the generation and the unity of the line of filiation, there is contradiction between differentiation and nondifferentiation of the sexes, as well as of respective ages, between reciprocity and nonreciprocity of terms, finally between classificatory unity and nonunity of brothers and sisters — classificatory unity which, by the way, is not to be confused with the unity of the group of brothers and sisters classified together, nor with a denominative unity.

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582 4. The marriage of Karaya women to foreigners is permitted only when the latter allow themselves to be adopted into the tribe and take up permanent residence in the village concerned, a case which in Castelnau's time was not at all rare, but could hardly occur today.

593 562 Although the husband is naturally in charge as head of the family, the position of the wife is a completely honorable one. There is no trace of the degradation of women into beasts of burden, as has been falsely imputed for all Indians by analogy with the North American tribes. Certain tasks, to be sure, are performed exclusively by the women and they are tireless in fulfilling their manifold duties. The man, too, however, has his share to perform. His wife is his complete equal; he does nothing of importance without her advice. Even the chief shares his honors with his wife. Mistreatment of women is unheard of.

595 Monogamy is the usual thing. The husband, however, not uncommonly finds it necessary to take a second wife when the [582] first one becomes too old. This is conditioned by the peculiar [171] custom, widespread, it seems, among all South American tribes (2), that the young men court older women and the old

[113] 2. Cf. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 223.

men younger ones. Perhaps the relatively small number of children can be traced to this.

847 Artificial abortion occurs, but only on the demand of the husband. It is brought about by pressing the uterus together with the hands and is said to cause death not uncommonly.

586 If married people do not get along, the husband is allowed 587 to trade off his wife for that of another. Anyone who repudiates his wife cannot marry again, but is allowed to have a housekeeper.

684 The husband himself punishes an adulterous wife by a beating or burning her with glowing wood. Sometimes (3) the guilty one

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Selvagem, p. 116.

is said to be even burned to death.

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609 576 Indians who were in the service of whites. When I came into a village, my Indians sat motionless in the boat, with bowed heads and disconcerted faces, until the chief of the village had addressed them. During the entire time of my stay in the village they did not lift a hand, nor did they eat any of my cooking, but rather went hungry, if they did not have relatives in the village who provided for them. They were precisely sem vergonha.

576 Upon returning from the journey, they were received with tearful speeches by their female relatives and family (1). During

1. This way of greeting long unseen kin by female relatives is already mentioned by Fonseca in 1773 (Rev. trim. 8, p. 379).

this the two parties seldom look at each other; they often stand one behind the other. The laments are made in a whimpering tone. Suddenly, they stop and converse in an entirely friendly manner with the ones who have returned. Apparently the whole thing is merely ceremony, the exaggeration of which on the part of particular women evoked derisive smiles even among the other Indians.

14. Marriage, Birth, Education, Death.

114 Marriage. I did not witness an engagement or a marriage, so my statements about this are based merely on the accounts of the Indians.

582 The age at which marriage takes place was difficult to determine. Men apparently marry between 17 and 20 years, women sooner, at 14-16. The only obstacle to marriage is the immediate relationship between siblings; cousins, on the other hand, may marry each other. I did not encounter anywhere any suggestion of marriage prohibitions which might perhaps be based on totemism.

584 /325/ The suitor first tries to win over the mother and the other relatives of the girl. The decision rests with the girl herself, however. The mother gives the suitor the answer. According to Pedro, the father-in-law receives presents from the suitor's father,

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Brazil.

593 The husband does not eat with his family, but instead
[264] with the family of his married sister, and is considered a member of his sister's family. Secondly, his share of the pro-
[768] ceeds of the day's hunting and fishing, does not go to his own hut, but to that of his sister; and, lastly, if his wife should die leaving dependent children, they are taken in charge by her parents and the widower again becomes one of the bachelors.

582 A Karayá woman is not permitted to marry an alien, unless
648 he will become adopted, or naturalized, into the tribe, and will consent to reside permanently at the wife's native village.
593 The Karayá wife appears to be considered the equal of her husband in many respects, for he never takes any important step in life without first consulting her. Even the village chief
[962] divides his honors with his wife. Furthermore, the wife as well as the husband, has an important part to perform, not only in the family, but in the social economy of the village; though her part is to do the heavy, laborious work, while her man does the light and fancy-work; his only heavy work being to hunt and fish.

595 The men usually have but one wife, though a few have
582 two. One reason for having two wives seems to be owing to the custom prevailing among nearly all South American tribes that the young men marry the older women, and the old men marry the young women. Therefore, when the first wife becomes old, her young husband takes to himself a youth-
163 ful wife. Perhaps this custom of the young men marrying the
[582] older women will account in part for the small number of
[862] children born to these primitive races; though another reason may be that children are allowed to nurse until they are six
171 or seven years of age. The custom of aged men marrying girls fourteen or fifteen years of age is common among the
847 civilized people of Brazil. Abortion among the Karayá is practiced only when the husband demands it. Whenever a
586 couple cannot live together harmoniously, the husband is al-
587 lowed to trade his wife for another woman. If he should drive her away, he will not be permitted to marry another
000 woman, though he may take a concubine. The adulterous